

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 09082 01 OF 02 171116Z  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 EB-07 OES-07 AS-01 /095 W  
-----171122Z 111695 /12

P 171002Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8743  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY  
USLO PEKING  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 9082

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SU JA ECON PFOR  
SUBJECT: FONOFF COMMENTS ON ISHIDA VISIT TO MOSCOW:  
"UNWANTED, UNWARRANTED AND UNDESIRABLE"

SUMMARY: FONOFF SOVIET EXPERTS WERE PARTICULARLY IRRITATED  
BY LABOR MINISTER ISHIDA'S RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW. THEY  
SUSPECTED THAT ISHIDA, IN HIS APPARENT EAGERNESS TO PLEASE  
HIS SOVIET HOSTS, MIGHT HAVE GIVEN IMPRESSION OF  
WEAKNESS ON JAPANESE SIDE. END SUMMARY

1. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFFS JUNE 16, FONOFF 1ST  
EAST EUROPEAN ACTING DIVDIR AOKI EXPRESSED UNUSUALLY SHARP  
CRITICISM OF LABOR MINISTER ISHIDA'S ACTIONS IN MOSCOW:  
"ISHIDA'S VISIT WAS UNWANTED, UNWARRANTED AND UNDESIRABLE;  
IT HAS CAUSED US PROBLEMS." AOKI ASSERTED THAT, CONTRARY  
TO GENERAL IMPRESSION, INITIATIVE FOR ISHIDA'S STOP-  
OVER IN MOSCOW FOLLOWING ILO CONFERENCE IN GENEVA HAD  
COME PRIMARILY FROM SOVIETS AND ISHIDA HIMSELF RATHER  
THAN FUKUDA GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO AOKI, DESPITE FONOFF  
OPPOSITION PM FUKUDA HAD AGREED TO VISIT -- IF FOR  
NO OTHER REASON OUT OF CONCERN LEST A DISAPPOINTED  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 09082 01 OF 02 171116Z

ISHIDA, POWERFUL POLITICAL FIGURE AND LEADER IN  
MIKI FACTION, CAUSE PROBLEMS AT TIME WHEN FUKUDA  
NEEDED PEACE IN LDP RANKS. AOKI STATED THAT  
ALTHOUGH SUCH SPECIAL "NON-DIPLOMATIC EMISSARIES"  
TO OTHER COUNTRIES HAD BEEN USEFUL IN PAST AND  
ISHIDA HAD GOOD CONTACTS WITH SOVIET LEADERSHIP,  
ISHIDA ALSO HAD HISTORY OF UNNECESSARY COMPROMISE

AND ACQUIESCENCE IN HIS DEALINGS WITH SOVIETS.  
IN SHORT, FONOFF SUSPECTED ISHIDA OF BEING "TOO  
SOFT WITH THE RUSSIANS."

2. FOR THAT REASON, AOKI STATED, FONOFF HAD SOUGHT  
TO KEEP ISHIDA ON TIGHT LEASH WHILE IN MOSCOW.  
PERSONAL LETTER FROM FUKUDA CARRIED BY ISHIDA  
HAD BEEN CAREFULLY DRAFTED NON-SUBSTANTIVE LETTER  
OF INTRODUCTION. ISHIDA HAD BEEN TOLD TO AVOID  
DISCUSSION OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES. FURTHERMORE,  
HE HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY INSTRUCTED THAT JAPANESE  
EMBASSY OFFICIALS MUST ACCOMPANY HIM TO HIS MEETINGS  
WITH SOVIET LEADERSHIP (PRACTICE ISHIDA HAD HONORED  
MORE OFTEN IN THE PAST).

3. CONSEQUENTLY, FONOFF HAD BEEN UNPLEASANTLY  
SURPRISED TO LEARN THAT "BECAUSE SOVIETS DESIRED  
IT," ISHIDA HAD MET WITH KOSYGIN AND BREZHNEV  
"WITHOUT EVEN AN EMBASSY INTERPRETER." AOKI STATED  
FONOFF AND PM FUKUDA HAD BEEN EVEN MORE DISTURBED  
TO READ ISHIDA'S COMMENTS TO JAPANESE PRESS IN  
MOSCOW. DURING JUNE 14 MEETING WITH KOSYGIN,  
ISHIDA APPARENTLY GAVE UNWANTED EMPHASIS TO  
PROSPECT OF LONG-TERM BILATERAL ECONOMIC  
COOPERATION IN DISCUSSING PROPOSED ECONOMIC  
MINISTERIALS. IN SESSION WITH BREZHNEV ON FOLLOWING  
DAY, ISHIDA'S RESPONSE TO SOVIET SUGGESTION OF  
"GOOD NEIGHBOR" TREATY AS INTERMEDIATE STEP TO  
PEACE TREATY IMPLIED POSSIBILITY OF FAVORABLE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 09082 01 OF 02 171116Z

RESPONSE ON PART OF GOJ.

4. AOKI EXPLAINED THAT IDEA OF PERIODIC ECONOMIC  
MINISTERIALS HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN FLOATED BY CHIEF  
CABINET SECRETARY SONODA IN MOSCOW THIS SPRING  
AS PART OF EFFORT TO RESTART STALLED FISHERIES  
TALKS. AT THAT TIME KOSYGIN HAD GIVEN NO  
RESPONSE. IN CABINET DISCUSSION PRIOR TO ISHIDA'S  
VISIT, IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT ISHIDA COULD SAFELY  
RAISE PROPOSAL WHILE IN MOSCOW. AOKI EMPHASIZED  
THAT GOJ HAD ENVISIONED MINISTERIALS SOLELY AS  
BROAD REVIEW OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN GENERAL. IT  
WOULD NOT BE ESTABLISHED UNTIL IT HAD BEEN  
THOROUGHLY STUDIED BY ALL MINISTRIES INVOLVED  
AND IN ANY EVENT, WOULD NOT DUPLICATE OR  
SUPERCEDE PRIVATE INDUSTRY BASED JOINT ECONOMIC  
COMMITTEE AS PRIMARY VEHICLE FOR COORDINATING  
ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROJECTS. INDEED, TERM  
"ECONOMIC COOPERATION" WITH ITS IMPLICATIONS OF

GOJ CIMMITMENT TO SOVIET PROJECTS WAS TO HAVE  
BEEN AVOIDED.

5. AOKI OBSERVED THAT "GOOD NEIGHBOR" TREATY  
WAS FAMILIAR SOVIET PLOY TO UNDERCUT JAPANESE  
INSISTENCE THAT IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL RELATIONS  
WAS DEPENDENT UPON RESOLUTION OF NORTHERN  
TERRITORIES QUESTION. JAPANESE HAD FLATLY REJECTED  
SUCH PROPOSALS IN PAST -- "ISHIDA WAS AWARE OF OUR  
POLICY ON THIS." NEVERTHELESS, INSTEAD OF  
REJECTING PREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL THEN AND THERE,  
ISHIDA PUBLICLY PROMISED HE WOULD CARRY IT BACK  
TO TOKYO FOR STUDY, THUS IMPLYING GOJ'S PREVIOUSLY  
NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD TREATY HAD WEAKENED.  
AS RESULT, BOTH PM FUKUDA AND FONMIN HATOYAMA  
HAD BEEN REQUIRED IN JUNE 17 PRESS CONFERENCE TO  
REJECT AGAIN "GOOD NEIGHBOR" TREATY.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TOKYO 09082 01 OF 02 171116Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 09082 02 OF 02 171119Z  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 IO-13 OES-07 /094 W  
-----171121Z 111807 /12

P 171002Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8744  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY  
USLO PEKING  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 9082

6. IN EXPLAINING DEPTH OF FONOFF'S CONCERN OVER  
ISHIDA'S ACTIONS, AOKI NOTED THAT IN 1973 BREZHNEV-  
TANAKA SUMMIT, SOVIETS HAD FINALLY BEGUN TO DISPLAY  
SOME SIGNS OF TALKING SERIOUSLY WITH JAPANESE ABOUT

NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE. OIL EMBARGO AND DESPERATE SCRAMBLE BY JAPAN FOR OIL, HOWEVER, HAD APPARENTLY CONVINCED SOVIETS THAT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GAINS (DROPPING OF JAPANESE CLAIMS TO NORTHERN TERRITORIES, INCREASED JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT, AND CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATY) COULD BE WRESTED FROM JAPANESE IF THEY WERE SQUEEZED HARD ENOUGH ON ANY RESOURCE PROBLEM. THUS, SOVIETS WERE UNUSUALLY TOUGH IN THIS YEAR'S FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS. IN AOKI'S VIEW, JAPAN HAD HAD "NARROW ESCAPE" -- DESPITE HEAVY PRESSURE, GOJ HAD STOOD RELATIVELY FIRM ON BASIC POLITICAL QUESTIONS IN FISHERIES TALKS. ALTHOUGH GOJ NOW WISHED TO REPAIR STRAINED RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS, FONOFF NEVERTHELESS FEARED ISHIDA'S APPARENT EAGERNESS TO PLEASE HIS SOVIET HOSTS MIGHT HAVE BEEN READ AS WEAKENING OF JAPAN'S HARD-WON RESOLVE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 09082 02 OF 02 171119Z

7. COMMENT: AOKI'S PIQUE DOUBTLESS REFLECTS TO SOME EXTENT DISTRESS WITH POLITICAL INCURSION ONTO DIPLOMATIC TURF. WHILE FONOFF MAY HAVE PREFERRED TO HAVE PROCEEDED AT MORE DELIBERATE PACE IN PATCHING UP RELATIONS WIT USSR AND TO HAVE REMAINED IN FULL CONTROL OF ACTION, FACT REMAINS THAT ISHIDA TRIP LEFT IMPRESSION OF FORWARD MOTION WITH WHICH POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MAY NOT TOO UNHAPPY ON EVE OF ELECTION.

MANSFIELD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MINISTERIAL VISITS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 17-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977TOKYO09082  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770216-1053  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** TOKYO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770643/aaaabltv.tel  
**Line Count:** 203  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** ec73827a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2106255  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FONOFF COMMENTS ON ISHIDA VISIT TO MOSCOW: "UNWANTED, UNWARRANTED AND UNDESIRABLE" SUMMARY: FONOFF SOVIET EXPERTS WERE PARTICULARLY I  
**TAGS:** ECON, PFOR, ELAB, UR, JA, (ISHIDA, HIROHIDE)  
**To:** STATE MOSCOW  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/ec73827a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009